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NEW YORK POLITICS

BY

EDWARD G. SMITH, Secretary

The National and Municipal Association, Illinois

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PREFACE

The next day after the election of William McKinley as President of the United States, and the simultaneous defeat of a spasmodic effort to elect an emotional candidate on an irrational platform, a movement was inaugurated in Chicago in which many of the most prominent Republicans of that city participated, for the better understanding of the political questions of this Republic from a broad Republican standpoint. It resulted in the formation of the National and Municipal Association, chartered under the laws of the State of Illinois, January 2, 1897. This association held weekly meetings during the ensuing year in the Court House in Chicago, where was adopted a municipal platform for the city of Chicago, simple, yet comprehensive, succinct, but complete. It calls for the abolition of the inadequate "old township government" of the last century still prevalent in all our municipalities, the obliteration of the Fee system, and the full, open, and honest payment of all public and municipal servants, aldermen, commissioners, trustees, justices of the peace, sheriffs, mayors, etc.

The Democrats have always clamorously charged the Republican Party to be the party of corporations and responsible for their corrup-

tion and oppression. The fact is that the national Government has little control over corporations, and the responsibility for this corruption lies in the municipalities everywhere, where the corporations are absolutely compelled to pay the municipal servants or officers that are either not paid at all or inadequately compensated by the people who elect them to office.

The failure of the Republican Party to be specifically organized on municipal questions has caused (1) an unchecked continuation of an inadequate municipal system that breeds corruption; (2) a destructive disease in the national Republican Party that cannot be cured on national issues as heretofore understood, but must be taken up by the national Republican Party itself and applied intelligently and locally in its municipalities.

While this movement has emanated from Chicago and is now being organized into the counties of Illinois, in natural course of time it will become national. The National and Municipal Journal, which started in Chicago in conjunction with this work, has merged in the NATIONAL WEEKLY, now being started from New York City, elegantly illustrated, cartooned, having thousands of subscribers extending into every State in the Union, with correspondents and connections among the ablest and most prominent Republicans in America.

The National and Municipal Association elected me its secretary. The duties involving on me necessitated my visiting many parts of the United States for the specific purpose of

studying and investigating municipal conditions and furthering the purposes of this association. The introductory pages herein form an interesting and succinct summary of a broad subject. Every week the NATIONAL WEEKLY will contain a short, interesting sketch of the history of one State, together with an interesting analysis of the present political status of that State. "New York Politics," herein described, is a specimen of the manner in which the same conditions have been observed and commented upon by me in many different cities and States, all of which will appear serially, and handsomely illustrated, in the NATIONAL WEEKLY. It is Republican and partisan, for which no apology is necessary; it was written with a desire to be true and honest.

EDWARD G. SMITH.

INTRODUCTORY

Years ago, De Tocqueville, the great French political economist, in commenting on our political institutions, said that our Constitution contained one great defect—"it made no provision for the government of great cities." A clear and scholarly knowledge of the growth and evolutions of European civilizations in municipal as well as national government gave this keen Frenchman a superior foresight into the inevitable municipal problems of the United States than was possessed by the patriotic and wise men who framed our Constitution. The problems of unborn generations sometimes cannot be anticipated.

At the time of the adoption of our national Constitution there prevailed, locally, the "township government" in the thirteen original United States, which then consisted of a narrow fringe on the Atlantic border, populated by three million human beings, possessing many elements of patriotism and good citizenship. The township government was then a very fitting and appropriate method of local or municipal government. Its essential feature was the idea that the public should be served without compensation, through patriotic motives, and in a public spirit. The requirements

of the public service then were not great, and the needs of the individual were small. The citizen could afford to give a portion of his time to the public, for he had it to spare. It was fashionable then; it is impossible now. The kilts of the boy will no longer serve the full-grown man. One hundred years makes a long yesterday. What has it brought forth? Let us see!

Thirteen States have multiplied into forty-five States and five Territories; a narrow fringe on the Atlantic shore has expanded from ocean to ocean, embracing three million square miles, populated by seventy million people. The advance of civilization in this country has brought material developments unprecedented in the annals of history. The clause in the Constitution granting special privileges to inventors wonderfully stimulated inventions. The railways have pierced all parts of this country with a network of steel rails. The railways move everywhere all the material of nature and the products of labor; the diversification and improvement of labor stimulates all the population. Printers' ink and an unchained press herald broadcast the rapid strides of an unprecedented civilization, and advertise the numerous necessary and convenient articles of commerce. Great telescopes have given us a glimpse into infinite space and put the feat of Joshua side by side with the fable of Ajax. Moral and religious freedom has led to the liberation of the slaves and the obliteration of sectional lines. All forces and opportunities have led to individual

betterment of those who sought betterment by mental and physical efforts. For more than a generation nearly every Presidential election has shown the poor man's son evolved into the President of this Republic.

To-day we are in a complex civilization as different from the days of 1776 as the present topography of our great cities, with sky-scrapers, cable, electric and elevated cars and the busy hum of life differs from the wigwam home of the aboriginal red man.

At the close of the nineteenth century the wants and requirements of mankind are vastly increased in the United States. It takes thousands of dollars per annum to support the ordinary man. Business demands most men's time and close attention, or they fail in the purposes of life.

While our conditions have changed, our municipal government remains unchanged. The township government still prevails.

The same quality, quantity, and sum-total of brains and energy which commands large salaries in corporate employment, and which attains fortunes in individual business life, goes without adequate, open, or direct compensation when exerted in the public service. We ask men to serve us as aldermen, trustees, commissioners, justices, etc., for a nominal or wholly inadequate compensation. Thrifty men, with a good business qualification, uniformly decline to enter the public service, or politics, as we style it; cunning and unprincipled men, those who, in a material and financial sense, have

everything to gain, and, in a moral sense, have nothing to lose, are generally the only ones who can afford to engage in the municipal service of the cities of the United States. These men spend thousands of dollars to be elected to an office that pays but a few hundred dollars a year salary. Who gets the money that elects them? The saloonkeeper, the livery man, the brewer, the distiller, the barrel-house bum, etc. A portion of the public profits from these conditions. As soon as a Board of Aldermen is elected, or a State Legislature or a Congress, the first thought of the incumbents is to ascertain a satisfactory solution to the important questions, "Where do I come in?" "What is there in it for me?"

No chain is stronger than its weakest link. The village, town, municipal, State, and national governments are all links in the chain of government. Every citizen votes for each and is governed by all. In this nation, studded with a great number of cities, wherever these municipalities are there rise just so many springs of corruption that feed the national political stream with a moral malaria that is making our whole population its victims.

Since the War of the Rebellion we have prospered nationally under Republican and protective administrations to such an extent that it is a notorious fact the American people wasted more per annum than enough to support any European nation with its costly royalty and armaments. In those bygone days we winked at the corruption of our municipal officers be-

cause we scarcely felt the pilferings of the domestic thief. But since November 7, 1892, the fatal election-day of Grover Cleveland, a Democratic Congress, Senate, and State governments, our national prosperity was ruthlessly destroyed. Since then every year of increased national poverty has accentuated the bitterness of our domestic municipal plunder.

The national Republican party that was defeated in 1892 by King Grover and the assiniuity of the American people has a splendid national record; but, unfortunately, it is not organized on home or municipal questions as it should be and as it will be as soon as popular demand will indicate to leaders the way. In the absence of Republican municipal organization, the intelligent and thrifty element everywhere, ninety-seven per cent. of which votes the Republican ticket on national elections, has sought the mirage of non-partisan reform, to the injury of the Republican Party, the delight of a solid, ignorant, and vicious Democracy, and to the confusion of the whole country.

NEW YORK POLITICS

There are in New York City two distinct political parties—the Democratic and the Republican. The Democratic Party is always a unit on election day, but the Republican Party is seldom united. Reformers, Citizen Unionists, Mugwumps, Goo-Goos are all offshoots from the Republican root, that spring up periodically and then, for want of sustenance, die and wither away, while the old Republican trunk roots deeper, grows stronger, and is destined to last for ages. Of the Republicans and Reformers much can be said pro and con; but with the Democrats it's all con. Naturally New York is Republican; actually it is Democratic. The word organization accounts for this difference. Richard Croker, the Democratic chieftain, is at one end; Tom Platt, the Republican Boss, is at the other end; the Reformers, Mugwumps, Purists, or what-nots are in the middle. The plaintive song of these Reformers is "both ends against the middle." They are in the middle because they put themselves in the middle. They belong to the Republican end of the political game; they vote the national Republican ticket almost to a man. Ninety-seven per cent. of them are Republican. Of the three per cent. that is not Republican, one is the "nonde-

script," another is the "fake," and the third one is the "just object of suspicion." To get this grotesque three per cent., the ninety-seven per cent. withdraw themselves from the Republican Party, municipally, to bask in the pale moonshine of nonpartisanship, while Tammany and the lower orders of society march in and capture everything in sight. This may be good citizenship, this may be patriotism, but it is absurd conduct and suicidal to the best interests of the community.

They say Platt sold out to Croker. We shall not discuss rumor. The fact is, the Republican vote cast for Low secured to Tammany the vast patronage and political perquisites of Greater New York. We would like to propound this question: After a large number of Republicans withdrew from the Republican Party, forming a non-partisan municipal movement, how could Tom Platt sell them out? They had severed allegiance to him and his party; they embarked in the uncertain sea of amateur politics; they plunged into a wild gamble; he simply kept on playing practical politics on positive lines and scientific principles. Owing to the shimmer and glamour of nonpartisanship, more than half of the Republican voters deserted the Republican Party on the battlefield of ballots.

In New York it is all a united Republican Party can do to battle a Democracy that is always united on election day. The voters in New York are divided in two—on one side Democrats and on the other side Republicans. The Reformers, by splitting and quartering the Re-

publican Party, made Tammany the whole thing. Out of nonpartisanship in New York we see nothing else accomplished. Seth Low was too high to deal with Platt, but he was low enough to associate with Democrats. But they say the Democrats he affiliated with were decent Democrats. That may be. We have heard of white crows and decent Democrats; but we have never seen a white crow and but few decent Democrats, except the Southerner, with whom Democracy is an hereditary evil that now, after many generations, is wearing away. Up North, however, a decent man has no excuse for being a Democrat. The attitude of Seth Low was an assumption of personal goodness and political holiness. But facts are facts; he did associate with Democrats, his good efforts did give to the Tammany tiger the fattest prey upon which it has ever gorged itself. His action may have been according to Scripture, but it was not right. We are Republican and do not believe in political miscegenation. We have a feeling of mingled admiration and respect for Columbia University; its beautiful ground and stately buildings, its intellectual atmosphere and moral aroma impel us to venerate a man capable of being its President. For such a man to leave such surroundings to become mayor of New York and associate with politicians, blacklegs, and reformers, certainly, on the surface, has every appearance of patriotism, self-abnegation, and unselfishness, but scratch the surface, and the Presidency of the United States is almost in reach. Oh, but then maybe we are illusionary.

It is right here that we get at the philosophy of the situation. When a large element of the Republican Party breaks the bounds of party ties and seeks to accomplish a right purpose by wrong methods, it then becomes the instinctive duty of the organization to protect itself. When these elements centered in Seth Low; when this one man was about to be vested with political power greater than any man or organization in America; when he was about to become the balance of power between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party; when he was about to be put in a position where he could dictate who should be Senator, Governor, or President, and what should be the party policy and national interest, then his independent election as mayor of Greater New York might have been a blessing, possibly the dawn of the millennium; but actually it would have placed too much power in any one man. We are still a republic and hope to continue as such. In the face of such a situation it would have been treason for Platt to have allowed the Republican organization to lay down and let Low walk over it. Platt did not bolt Low's party, but Low's party did bolt Platt's party. Both Low and Platt knew that the candidacy of Low imperilled the Republican Party and played into the hand of Tammany. Seth Low had nothing at stake except his scholastic theories and personal advancement; Platt was responsible for the preservation of the Republican Party. President McKinley and the Republican National Committee made their demands on Platt to maintain

the integrity of the Republican Party, preserve the nation from dictatorship, and the Republican Party itself from possible disintegration.

The charge that Platt sold out to Croker is flimsy on the surface, unsustained by facts, and contrary to common sense. It is uttered by those who were engaged in an unsuccessful movement; of that charge it can safely be said that the wish is parent of the thought.

Personally, we are not prepossessed with T. C. Platt. His dried-up, wizened face reminds us of the old Man of the Sea; yet we would rather have Platt morning, noon, and night, Mondays to Sundays, from January to December, and from the cradle to the grave, than to have fifteen minutes of Tammany. We will neither deny that Platt is a good man nor admit that he is a bad man. Under existing conditions, if Platt were to die to-day, and thereby please a great many people, another Platt with a different name would take his place. When a people, a party, or a State is devoid of vital principles, individuals hold the reins of power. The fault for Plattism lies in the individual Republican whose political conscience has sunk so low that he considers himself of no account, prays for good government, but does nothing by act or thought or speech to bring it about. This moral lethargy of those who vote, at their own convenience, the Republican ticket is responsible for Plattism.

If the individual Republican but knew that he is a living factor, had he any interest in the public, and would he but do his simple duty, Platt could not dominate New York politics

twelve months. Such an interest can be aroused, but not by prevalent methods. The Republican voters need a removal of the cloud of personal politics and an opportunity to live in the light of true principles that will enable the Republican Party to conduct national politics on national issues, State politics on State issues, and municipal politics on municipal issues.

The situation in New York is the same as it is in all our great cities. The Republicans desire municipal betterment everywhere; but the national Republican Party has taken no notice of municipal questions; therefore the local Republican organization in New York and everywhere else has not taken up these questions. Consequently, thousands of Republicans everywhere have been lured into nonpartisan municipal movements, hoping that such movements would break up party lines and thus secure good municipal government. The net result is this: Party lines were broken, but only the Republican Party lines; Democracy remained solid under the banner inscribed, "To Hell with Reform." The nonpartisan movement in the United States was an expensive experiment, and it is an utter failure.

However, to wise Republicans it is a good lesson. In the main, those who voted for Low did so in good faith, believing that they were conserving good municipal government in so doing. The act was wrong; the intention was good. They sought the right thing in the wrong direction. Whether the blame for the election

of Van Wyck is chargeable to Platt or Low, to the regular organization or to the reform Republicans, involves a problem in moral equations. The fault of the Reform Republicans was one of action; the fault of the regular Republicans was one of non-action. Which of the two is most culpable we do not know and do not care. Bygones are bygones; the future is before us. If the regular Republicans heretofore refused to consider municipal reform, they will entertain it now with open arms; if the reform Republicans considered the machine too bad in the past, they are now perfectly willing to work out practical reforms through the Republican Party, the only practical political machine for municipal reform throughout the United States. The Republicans and the Republican machine have had their experience, paid for it, and are now ready to join hands to accomplish actual reforms and to subjugate Democracy.

Tammany is the only real organized force. It is true to its appetites and instincts. *E Pluribus Unum* is translated by Tammany into Irish, Italian, Hebrew, Polish, German, Russian, Low Dutch, etc. All the year around, every month, every week, every day, every minute, every second, the Tammany machinery is at work ceaselessly taking in and spending all kinds of money—dirty cents, glossy nickels, worn-out, weary, hard-earned dimes, plugged quarters, silver, gold, greenbacks, checks; the siren, the gambler, the criminal, men, women, children, the rich, the poor—all must cough up to Tammany

or choke. Its revenues are princely, regal, fabulous. Its claws are covered with velvet; its methods are smooth or rough, according to circumstances.

Tammany is a well put up organization; it has all the functions of an animated body; it has a head and it has a tail, and the tail never wags the head.

All over New York, at all seasons, in saloon windows, groceries, etc., are placards or posters printed on green paper, announcing outings, picnics, balls, parties, cakewalks, etc., given by associations named such as "The Barney Bourke Association," "The Pete Dwyer Association," "The Francis Xavier Murphy Association," or "The Patrick Gilhooley Association." These associations are nothing more or less than cubs and offsprings of the Tammany tiger. When some man has learned his Tammany catechism, been confirmed, and has reached a certain degree in Tammany orders and is ready to consecrate his talents to politics, plunder, and Tammany, the head of Tammany permits his friends to apply to the Secretary of State for articles of incorporation for an association named in his name. Officers are elected. Then the old Tammany tiger sits over in one corner and winks one eye and then the other eye, and lo and behold! the neighborhood chips into the treasury of the association enough money to enable the worthy gentleman to prosecute his political career, unhampered financially, with willing hands and warm hearts outstretched in his behalf. Now he is in training. In due time

he will be nominated and elected to an office. Then the postman brings letters to his house addressed to "The Hon. Patrick Gilhooley." You reformers and silk stockings, you can't beat that kind of a deal. While you play golf, they collect and eat your taxes.

For years we have pondered over the peculiar political phenomenon in New York City politics, that a certain element, large numerically, financially, and from the standpoint of what is called respectable, are open and avowed Tammanyites. Municipally they are for Tammany; nationally they are independent; instinctively they are Republican; but self-interest has perverted nature and moral cowardice has made them Democrats. They own too much property, they have too many interests at stake to become the victims of Tammany; so they first become tributaries and buy immunity. Then the Tammany tiger, first fed on the door-stoop, stealthily enters their house and says: "I ain't a bad tiger; just give me all I want and I'll be real good. Let's be friends and do business. You'll always know where to find me and my price. If you're my friend, I'll protect you from that bad man Platt." The situation is convincing, and self-interest will always find an excuse for moral turpitude.

Should Tammany, at any time, use the municipal enginery, it could loot Wall Street in a manner that would turn red Populists green with envy. New York City is governed by a political system by means of which the lower orders of society dominate the upper classes.

The vast number of voters whose intelligence and education is low, and whose worldly possessions are small, generally outvote the vast number of voters whose intelligence and education is high and whose individual wealth is considerable. Why? Because they are well-officered. Because they are obedient. Because, among them the individual knows little, has less, and, alone, amounts to nothing; but, banded together, they are strong and can hold up a community. Another set of men, small in number, comparatively speaking, but Jesuitically cunning and unscrupulous in methods, officer these vast ignorant voters, look after their needs in a measure, and absolutely control their votes. A cunning mentality gives recognition for obedience; and it does a big business.

A large number of Brooklyn voters will bolt the Republican ticket this fall because a number of Republican municipal officials, some of whom were endorsed by the Citizens' Union, have been indicted for corruption in office. Such action is shallow, erratic, and wrong. Primarily, the fault lies in the system, which is rotten. The legal indictment is against the Republican officials; the moral indictment is against the Republican voters who have not done anything to improve the defects of the system.

Tammany wants no improvement in municipal conditions; but, be it said to its credit, it protects its members from jails and penitentiaries. Boss Croker boasts that but one conviction came from all the Lexow investigation,

and that a Republican. Who ever heard of Democrats being convicted for corruption in public office? They all hold policies in a company for protection from punishment for crime; the members keep up their dues, fees, and instalments, and the society has never yet made a default.

On the other hand, those who vote the Republican ticket, as a general thing, possess such a degree of education, intelligence, and thrift that if they have not yet attained wealth or competence, they have the means for their attainment within themselves. They are not obliged to look to any party, organization, confederation, or band for the means to live. They are independent. If the Republican ticket is to their notion perfectly straight, if the t's are crossed and the i's dotted, and if the weather is good on election day, they may go to the polls. But the Tammany barriers swallow anything that is put before them.

Tammany is a bee-hive; it has its busy bees, it has its tireless workers, and its drones; it gathers its honey and it has its sting. The hive of the bee has its cells, compartments, and divisions; the Tammany hive has its wards, Assembly and Congressional districts. Military and natural order prevails in both hives. The bees have a queen bee; the Tammany bees have a king bee. Every summer, at the race-track in England, the Prince of Wales associates with kings, queens, princes, and Richard Croker.

The boys in blue fighting the Spaniards adopted the motto, "Remember the Maine";

the slogan of the New York Republicans should be, "Look out for Tammany."

In New York City and State the Republican Party is afflicted with too much "personal politics." It's a case of too much Johnson, Platt, Low, Brookfield, Lou Payne, Swayne, Lauterbach, Milholland, Gibbs, Quigg, Black, etc. There is a whole raft of little big fellows tearing the Republican Party in pieces. Divest them all of their personal purposes, and what's left? Nothing! No vital principles are promulgated or at issue.

In 1882 the dissatisfaction of the Republicans of New York at the interference of the national administration in New York politics caused the election of Grover Cleveland as Governor of New York State by stupendous majorities; it bred the political disease known as mugwump-ery; it introduced into national politics a stuffed prophet to fool the American people; it enabled a Buffalo hangman to become President of the United States and break the neck of prosperity; it made out of a political rounder a political saint; it made a briefless lawyer a fat millionaire; it made smokeless factory chimneys; it paralyzed trade and commerce; it relegated to oblivion the Democratic free trade slogan after its painful and expensive trial; it stopped the normal circulation of money; throughout the United States; it caused empty stomachs and fat graveyards.

Politically, New York has always been a mischief-maker. If it had not been for Martin Van Buren and New York, Andrew Jackson

would never have been President of the United States; that day and generation would have been spared financial panics, commercial calamities, and industrial disasters; the vicious credulity of subsequent generations would have been minus one patron saint and evil spirit. If it had not been for the same Martin Van Buren and his political nursery at Kinderhook, his pupil, Samuel J. Tilden, would never have been known in public life. The Electoral Commission did this country a very good service. The appointment of Robertson to the measly office of Collector of the Port of New York convulsed the Republican Party and rent it from centre to circumference and led to the assassination of President Garfield. What further deviltry the Republican personal politics of New York may have in store for this nation, we dare not contemplate. We should characterize New York Republican politics as independent, infernal idiocy. If you fellows have no principles or personal self-respect, please bear in mind a whole nation is made to suffer on your account. In New York every Assembly "legislative" district has a party leader chosen by the votes of the committeemen in that district. His title is that of "leader." His powers are those of the chairman of a district committee, ordinarily, together with special powers that make him personally responsible for the party in his district. There are thirty-five Assembly Districts in New York, now "Borough of Manhattan." We have met, personally, every one of them. Their total make-up embraces the good, the bad, and the

indifferent. Some of them are true-blue Republicans, such as you could well imagine go to sleep at night wrapped up in the Stars and Stripes; others are unsentimental, cold-blooded machine mechanics, who consider the Republican Party as so much merchandise.

The Republican organization in New York is much like the Republican organization in all our great municipalities; it is justly subject to criticism; it is habituated to existing conditions; it is much in need of betterment. But this work of improvement must come within party lines. Correction must not take the shape of destruction.

Sixteen years after the political storm that buried Judge Folger, just as New York expands her city limits to the boundaries of Greater New York, the same elements, in the shape of a non-partisan cyclone, paved the way for Tammany's victory and prosperity. Often out of evil comes good. The defeat of Seth Low was the death-knell of municipal nonpartisan movements in the United States. Paris sets the pace of fashion for the world; unfortunately for Uncle Sam, New York sets the political pace in the United States. Everywhere in the United States movements to build up municipal non-partisan organizations have been destructive to the Republican Party and a covert ally to Democracy.

The defeat of Seth Low knocked out the keystone, and with it collapsed the whole structure. And all the king's horses and all the king's men can't pick Humpty Dumpty up again. The

Republican Party can emerge from defeat stronger and better. Already the Republican Party in many States and cities is beginning to take up municipal questions in earnest, honestly, heartily, and sincerely. Soon the reformer can say, with Othello, "my occupation is gone."

There is a vast difference between the Mugwump reformer's municipal attitude and the coming Republican municipal attitude. The Reformers have said, Look upon the Democratic side—see how bad they are; look upon the Republican side—see how bad they are; look upon us—see how good we are. This is pure sophistry; it is pharisaical and hypocritical. The Republican Party is now taking hold of these municipal questions in a different spirit; its position is that we are suffering from an old, antiquated municipal system in this country, which, because it is inadequate, breeds corruption; the Republican party invites all Republicans to study the subject, so that we may thoroughly understand it and bring the whole system up to our own level and high standard.

This paper is unalterably opposed to Democracy and mugwumpery alike, in every form. It is friendly to Republicans, whether they be organization or anti-organization, as long as they are Republicans.

There are two things the Republican Party in Greater New York must do: (1) To discover and adhere to the essential municipal principles necessary for the best interests of this vast community; (2) to secure the best men to execute this work.

If the regular organization is incapable or indisposed to do this, then anti-organization Republicans are a necessity, and, as long as they act in good faith, they are genuine. If they are gotten up to serve individual and purely selfish interests by persons who seek to sandbag the regular organization for pie, plums, or meat, who serve only personal ends, and make demands under threat of turning influence and votes over to citizens' movements, if such is the case, the participants should be assailed and destroyed. If, however, men of high character, actuated by a true spirit of good citizenship, are willing to put up money, time, and attention, such efforts are laudable and will have the sanction of the vast masses of Republicans; and their demands upon the regular organization, when reasonable and just, will be cheerfully and naturally acceded to. Common sense and necessity assure this. If, perchance, the regular organization should be devoid of the requisite common sense, then the anti-organizations could be made to supplant the regular organization.

The doors of the Republican Party are open the year round to all Republicans. Those who do nothing for the party throughout the year often are the ones who, on election day, kick those who do. If a man is a Republican, let him do his duty to his party; he should not be dead timber and an obstruction. Let him put up or shut up. If some men would content themselves with doing their political duty in their home wards or districts, at club meetings and primaries, side by side with other common

people like themselves, instead of posing before the whole community as something better, superior, and holier than the regular Republicans, their aggregate efforts would benefit the party. These gentlemen have for years been clamoring for an honest primary law. In New York and Illinois the Republican Legislatures have passed such primary laws as they desired. When put into operation, this law has shown in New York and in Chicago that the best primary law that the ingenuity of man can devise is useless to the man who will not attend primaries.

Now, gentlemen, let us throw off sham, hypocrisy, and prudery, and exercise a little common sense in political affairs. Let us high-toned fellows look into the City Directory for the address of our local Republican club. Let us call around once in a while and see the boys, and show that we ain't stuck up; let's leave a ten or a twenty, a fifty or a hundred, to buy dough or other stuff necessary to any business. It's bread cast upon the waters that will come back to us. Let's tell the boys they will do us a favor to take our coin. Let's tell them it is a willing tax we cheerfully pay to those who run the political machinery of the grandest political party in the grandest country on this earth.

All over the United States we have found that, in the main, the workers in the Republican Party, not the ringleaders, would infinitely prefer to be in politics under cleaner and better surroundings than under the prevailing conditions. Nowhere are real municipal reforms more desired than among them.

The columns of this paper will be open to all sides of Republicanism. Bear and forbear brings domestic peace; it applies likewise to party politics.

In New York City Tammany is the common enemy to the best interests. In the face of such a foe the Republicans should not split hairs, but stand together as a unit.

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